

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8252

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 2531

ALL OTHER MBFR CAPITALS BY POUCH

FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: AD HOC GROUP MEETING 28 MARCH

1. SUMMARY: US AND DUTCH REPS REPORTED ON THEIR MORNING MEETING WITH SOVIET AND HUNGARIAN REPS. MEETING WAS INCONCLUSIVE, WITH EASTERN SIDE CONCENTRATING ON ASKING QUESTIONS OF ALLIES ON DETAIL OF SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENTS AND PROCEDURES PAPER ON HUNGARIAN ABEYANCE APPROACH. SOVIET REP EMPHASIZED THE ITALIAN/HUNGARIAN LINKAGE AND ARGUED THAT WESTERN APPROACH DID NOT TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION EASTERN VIEW. ITALIAN REP THOUGHT THIS WAS CLEAREST INDICATION YET THAT SOVIETS WILL INSIST ON HUNGARY/ITALY LINKAGE TO THE END. DUTCH REP SUGGESTED THAT IN NEXT
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EMISSARY MEETING WITH EAST, IF EAST WAS NOT MORE FORTHCOMING, ALLIES MIGHT SUGGEST THAT FOLLOWING MEETING MOVE ON TO A DIS-

CUSSION OF AGENDA TOPICS. DECISION ON THAT SUGGESTION WAS POSTPONED UNTIL AFTER NEXT EMISSARY MEETING ON 30 MARCH. GREEK REP SUGGESTED AND BELGIAN, DUTCH, CANADIAN AND FRG REPS CONCURRED, THAT SOVIET SIDE APPEARED TO BE ENGAGED IN DELIBERATE FOOT-DRAGGING. IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS DELIBERATE STALL WAS MERELY DUE TO A LACK OF INSTRUCTIONS OR OTHERWISE MOTIVATED. AD HOC GROUP AGREED THAT WESTERN DELEGATES POSITION AT CANADIAN RECEPTION NIGHT OF 28 MARCH SHOULD BE TO EMPHASIZE THAT WEST HAS SUGGESTED THREE NEUTRAL SOLUTIONS WHILE EAST HAS OFFERED NOTHING NEW. FURTHER, ALLIES SHOULD REMIND EASTERN REPS THAT ITALY WAS NOT THE ISSUE; EMPHASIZING THAT EAST HAD IN FACT ALREADY ACCEPTED ITALY'S FRANK STATUS THROUGH JANUARY EXCHANGE OF NOTES. NORWEGIAN REP REPORTED THAT ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY DURING VISIT TO OSLO SPOKE NEGATIVELY ABOUT MBFR AND REPEATED STANDARD ROMANIAN PREFERENCES FOR INCLUSION OF NEUTRALS AND POSSIBILITY OF SEPARATE REGIONAL CONFERENCES ON FORCE REDUCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. CHAIRMAN, (US REP), OPENED MEETING BY SUGGESTING A FIVE POINT AGENDA: (1) BILATERAL REPORTS, IF ANY, (2) READING OF REPORT OF 28 MARCH QUADRILATERAL MEETING, (3) ANALYSIS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT MEETING, (4) DISCUSSION OF LINES OF APPROACH FOR NEXT QUADRILATERAL MEETING ON 30 MARCH AND (5) WESTERN LINE FOR 28 MARCH RECEPTION AT CANADIAN EMBASSY.

3. NO BILATERALS WERE REPORTED. DUTCH REP (QUARLES), INTRODUCED REPORT OF 28 MARCH QUADRILATERAL MEETING BY NOTING THAT WESTERN TACTIC FOR THIS SESSION OF ENCOURAGING EASTERN SIDE TO OFFER SUGGESTIONS WAS STYMIED WHEN SOVIET REPS SAID THEY HAD NO SUGGESTIONS BUT WANTED TO CLARIFY WESTERN SUGGESTIONS AND STATEMENTS FROM PREVIOUS MEETINGS. PARTICULARLY, SOVIETS WANTED DETAILS ON WHERE AND WHAT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER AND WHAT THE WEST VISUALIZED SHOULD BE SAID IN UNILATERAL STATEMENTS. DUTCH REP NOTED THAT, IN RESPONSE, THE ALLIED REPS GAVE ELEMENTS OF PROPOSED UNILATERAL STATEMENTS BUT DID NOT GIVE THE STATEMENTS OR EXACT PHRASING. ALLIED REPS HAD POINTED OUT 3 BASIC APPROACHES THEY HAD SUGGESTED FOR CONSIDERATION IN RECENT MEETINGS: (1) A PROCEDURES PAPER WITH AN AGREED STATEMENT ON HUNGARY, (2) A PROCEDURES PAPER WITH UNILATERAL STATEMENTS BY THE WEST AND HUNGARY ON HUNGARY'S STATUS AND (3) A PAPER THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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LISTS 19, 11, AND 7 STATES, PROVIDES FOR ENLARGEMENTS OF THE 11, BUT NEVER SPECIFICALLY LISTS HUNGARY EXCEPT IN THE LIST OF 19. DUTCH REP NOTED THAT SOVIETS APPEARED ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN WHY THE STATEMENTS NEEDED TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER. (DUTCH REP ADDED THAT HE PERSONALLY FELT STATEMENTS COULD BE MADE ORALLY, AND ATTACHED TO PROCEDURES PAPER AT A LATER DATE, BUT THAT FOR NOW WEST SHOULD STICK TO POSITION THEY MUST BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PROCEDURES PAPER.

4. DUTCH REP THEN SUGGESTED THAT IF AT THE NEXT MEETING THE EASTERN SIDE CONTINUED TO AVOID OFFERING ANY POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS, THE WEST MIGHT SUGGEST THAT THE NEXT QUADRILATERAL MEETING INCLUDE AGENDA TOPIC DISCUSSIONS. HE ADDED THAT THE ONLY POSITIVE ELEMENT OF 28 MARCH MEETING WAS FACT OTHER SIDE MUST NOW CLEARLY UNDERSTAND WESTERN ABEYANCE PROPOSALS AND HAD PROMISED TO STUDY THEM CAREFULLY.

5. CHAIRMAN (US REP), SUGGESTED FINAL DUTCH REP STATEMENT ABOUT AGENDA DISCUSSIONS BE DISCUSSED AFTER GROUP FINISHED ANALYSIS OF 28 MARCH MEETING. HE ADDED IN HIS CAPACITY AS THE OTHER ALLIED EMISSARY THAT SOVIETS HAD APPEARED RECEPTIVE TO THE DETAILS WE GAVE THEM AND HAD NOT DEFINITELY CLOSED THE DOOR ON WEST' S IDEA. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THEY ALSO REEMPHASIZED THEIR ITALY/ HUNGARY LINKAGE. US REP SUGGESTED SOVIETS MIGHT MERELY BE STALLING AS THEY AWAITED INSTRUCTIONS.

6. THE FRG REP SAID THAT THE LINE TAKEN BY THE ALLIED SPOKESMEN WAS IN ACCORD WITH THE ONE AGREED WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP. HE SAID THAT HE EXPECTED THAT THE KVITSINSKIY " NASTY REMARK"

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PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE SINCE THE 28 MARCH QUADRILATERAL MEETING. HE WANTED TO NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS STATED THAT HUNGARY AND ITALY SHOULD BE LINKED NOT ONLY IN THE PRESENT TALKS BUT ALSO DURING NEGOTIATIONS AND IN ANY MEASURES AGREED.

8. THE FRG REP ASKED THE US REP IF IT SEEMED THAT THE PRIMARY SOVIET OBJECTIVE WAS THAT HUNGARY BE ACCORDED THE STATUS OF A FLANK STATE. THE US REP SAID THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THIS WAS SO SINCE KHLESTOV HAD SAID AS MUCH. BUT THE SOVIETS WERE CONTINUING TO INSIST ON BUILDING THEIR CASE FOR THE EXCLUSION OF HUNGARY BY REFERRING TO A LINKAGE BETWEEN HUNGARY AND ITALY. AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, IT WAS AN OPEN QUESTION WHETHER THEY WOULD HOLD ON TO THE ITALIAN LINKAGE AS REGARDS MENTION OF ITALY IN POSSIBLE STATEMENTS IF THEY SHOULD ACHIEVE THEIR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE.

9. THE GREEK REP SAID HE SAW NO CHANGE IN THE SUBSTANTIVE POSITION OF THE EAST BUT THEIR TACTICAL APPROACH HAD BECOME SOFTER. IT
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ALMOST SEEMED AS IF THEY WERE TRYING TO DRAW OUT THE TALKS BY ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WESTERN POSITION RATHER THAN ARGUING AGAINST IT. HE PUT FORWARD HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE EAST MAY BE DOING MORE THAN SIMPLY WAITING FOR INSTRUCTIONS AT THIS POINT. THEY MIGHT BE TRYING TO DRAW OUT THE TALKS. THE BELGIAN REP AGREED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE IN THE EASTERN POSITION THOUGH THEIR TACTICS HAD CHANGED A GREAT DEAL. HE QUESTIONED WHETHER IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE EASTERN SIDE STILL HAD NOT YET UNDERSTOOD THE WESTERN POSITION. THE HOST OF QUESTIONS THEY RAISED MADE IT SEEM AS IF THE EAST HAD BEEN PRESENTED WITH THE WESTERN POSITION FOR THE FIRST TIME. IT SEEMED CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE AIM OF THE EAST WAS TO HAVE HUNGARY LISTED AMONG THE 8 SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS EITHER BY NAME OR BY IMPLICATION. HE POINTED OUT THAT ACCORDING TO HIS INSTRUCTIONS, ANY EASTERN COUNTERPROPOSAL TO INCLUDE HUNGARY AMONG THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS EITHER BY NAME OR BY IMPLICATION WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE NAC AND COULD NOT BE AGREED TO BY THE AD HOC GROUP.

10. THE BELGIAN REP THEN SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN INTERMEDIATE SOLUTION WHICH HAD NOT YET BEEN PROPOSED. THIS WOULD CALL FOR LISTING 19 PARTICIPANTS, THEN STATING THAT THERE WOULD BE 11 DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND 7 CONSULTATIVE PARTICIPANTS. THE STATES TO BE INCLUDED IN EACH CATEGORY WOULD NOT BE LISTED BY NAME. THE US REP ANSWERED THAT A SIMILAR PROPOSAL HAD COME UP DURING THE FIRST QUADRILATERAL MEETING. A PROPOSAL THAT EACH STATE DECLARE ITS STATUS DURING THE FIRST PLENARY WAS ALSO CONSIDERED AS AN ELABORATION OF THIS KIND OF AN APPROACH. THE MATTER HAD BEEN DROPPED HOWEVER. THE BELGIAN REP SAID IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO HAVE SUCH STATEMENTS AS THE FIRST PLENARY. US REP QUESTIONED WHETHER SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT THIS VERSION AND WHETHER IT WAS NOT MERELY POSTPONING THE RECKONING BY A FEW DAYS. SOUTHERN FLANK REPS INDICATED THEY DID NOT LIKE IDEA.

11. THE CANADIAN REP SAID THAT THE WESTERN SIDE MUST BE PATIENT FOR A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME. IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO CONTINUE TO MEET AND TO LISTEN TO THE EASTERN VIEWS. HE BELIEVED THAT THE

WESTERN SIDE SHOULD AWAIT A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FROM THE OTHER SIDE BEFORE GOING BACK TO THE NAC. HE OFFERED HIS PERSONAL OPINION THAT THE EAST WAS FOOTDRAGGING ON PURPOSE IN THE HOPE THAT CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE WOULD NOT MATERIALIZE. IN VIEW OF THE UPCOMING MPT RECESS, HE WONDERED WHETHER THE EAST COULD REASONABLY EXPECT TO DILLY DALLY FOR SEVERAL WEEKS.

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12. THE TURKISH REP MADE A NUMBER OF POINTS. HE REFERRED TO KHLESTOV' S STATEMENT (PAGE 8, PARA 5 OF THE REPORT ON THE 28 MARCH QUADRILATERAL) THAT THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE MUST BE SETTLED NOW. HIS VIEW WAS THAT THIS COULD TAKE AWHILE. HE ALSO REFERRED TO THE GENERAL COOPTION FORMULA (PAGE 12 PARA 27 OF THE REPORT). HE SAID IF SUCH A FORMULA WERE TO BE PLACED IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER AFTER A LISTING OF ONLY THE 11 DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE. HE SAID THE WESTERN SIDE SHOULD RESIST EFFORTS TO HAVE THE COOPTION FORMULA APPLIED TO ALL SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS. HE OFFERED HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT NO COUNTERPROPOSAL FROM THE EASTERN SIDE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. THEREFORE, WHY ASK FOR ONE?

13. THE US REP THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT THE ALLIED SPOKESMEN SHOULD SAY DURING THE NEXT QUADRILATERAL MEETING (30 MARCH). HE SAID THAT THE ALLIED REP SHOULD NOT GO BEYOND WHAT HAD BEEN SAID DURING THE MARCH 28 QUADRILATERAL AND SHOULD ASK FOR THE COMMENTS OF THE EASTERN SIDE ON THE WESTERN ABEYANCE PROPOSALS. THEY MIGHT EVEN EXPRESS SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE DELAY WHICH THE EASTERN SIDE HAS BROUGHT ABOUT. HE SAID THAT, AS A RHETORICAL POINT, THE WESTERN SPOKESMEN MIGHT COUNT UP THE NUMBER OF POSSIBLE WAYS OF PUTTING THE STATUS OF HUNGARY IN ABEYANCE WHICH HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY THE WEST. IN ANY CASE, HOWEVER, THE ALLIED SPOKESMEN SHOULD FOCUS ON THE FOUR CONCEPTS WHICH HAD BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE 28 MARCH QUADRILATERAL MEETING.

14. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT HE WAS STRUCK BY THE FACT THAT THE EASTERN SIDE REPEATEDLY CLAIMED THAT THE WEST WAS TRYING TO INCLUDE HUNGARY AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT. THIS WAS SO IN SPITE OF THE ASSERTION OF THE ALLIED REPS THAT THEIR INTENTION WAS TO KEEP OPEN THE STATUS OF HUNGARY.

15. ON THE FOUR CONCEPTS WHICH HAD BEEN DISCUSSED (SEE PARA 11 OF REPORT ON 28 MARCH QUADRILATERAL), THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THAT REACHING AGREEMENT ON CONCEPT B WAS THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM (NAME- LY THAT ARRANGEMENTS ON THE PRESENT STATUS OF HUNGARY WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO FUTURE POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS). HE SAID THAT CONCEPT C (THAT THE DEGREE OF HUNGARY' S INCLUSION IN DECISIONS HAD NOT YET BEEN DETERMINED) AND CONCEPT D (THAT THE QUESTION OF HOW AND TO WHAT EXTENT HUNGARY WOULD BE INCLUDED IN DECISIONS WOULD BE DETERMINED LATER) COULD BE COMBINED. THE US REP ANSWERED THAT THESE TWO CONCEPTS IN FACT WERE DIFFERENT AND WERE NECESSARY IF

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THERE WERE TO BE COMPLEMENTARY STATEMENTS. IF THE WEST WERE ABLE TO GET HUNGARY TO SPECIFY HOW CONCEPT D COULD BE IMPLEMENTED, THEN THE WEST WOULD BE RELIEVED OF HAVING TO MAKE A STATEMENT ABOUT CONCEPT C. BUT HE DOUBTED THAT HUNGARY WOULD GO SO FAR.

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FROM US REP MBFR

16. THE FRG REP NOTED THAT KVITSINSKIY HAD ACTUALLY ASKED THE ALLIED REPS FOR THEIR VIEWS ON THE WORDING OF A COOPTION FORMULA. HE SAID THAT APPARENTLY THE SOVIETS WOULD BE WILLING TO LABEL SUCH A FORMULA AS A WESTERN PRODUCT. HE SAID THAT IT WAS CURIOUS THAT THE EAST WOULD LEAVE TO THE WEST THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FORMULATING AN EASTERN CONCEPT. THE US REP ADDED THAT THIS WAS NOT AN UNCOMMON SOVIET PRACTICE.

17. THE NORWEGIAN REP QUESTIONED WHETHER THE OTHER SIDE WOULD NOT TREAT THE FOUR CONCEPTS DISCUSSED DURING THE MARCH 28 QUADRILATERAL AS FOUR OFFICIAL WESTERN PROPOSALS. HE SAID THIS WOULD NOT BE A HEALTHY SITUATION SINCE THEY DID NOT ACTUALLY

REPRESENT SPECIFIC WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR LANGUAGE. THE CANADIAN REP SAID THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE A PROBLEM SINCE THE ALLIED SPOKESMEN HAD PREFACED ALL THEIR STATEMENTS BY NOTING THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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DISCUSSIONS WERE INFORMAL PROBES AND THAT THEY WERE TALKING IN CONCEPTUAL TERMS.

18. THE US REP THEN TURNED THE DISCUSSION TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT LINE WAS TO BE TAKEN BY THE WESTERN REPS DURING THE 28 MARCH RECEPTION WITH THE EAST. HE SAID THAT THE ALLIED REPS SHOULD RECALL THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE MADE THREE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR KEEPING THE STATUS OF HUNGARY IN ABEYANCE. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY HAD PROPOSED THAT THERE COULD BE AN AGREED STATEMENT TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PROCEDURES PAPER, OR THERE COULD BE UNILATERAL STATEMENTS REGARDING THE STATUS OF HUNGARY, OR THERE BE A "19-11-7" LISTING, ACCOMPANIED BY AN ENLARGEMENT FORMULA. IF THE WESTERN REPS WERE TO BE ASKED ABOUT THE PHRASING OF A COOPTION FORMULA, THEY COULD SAY THAT IT WAS CONCEIVABLE THAT SUCH A FORMULA NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTION HUNGARY. THE US REP ADDED THAT IT SEEMED DOUBTFUL THAT THE EAST WOULD ACCEPT THIS LAST IDEA SINCE HUNGARY WOULD THEN BE THE ONLY STATE NOT SPECIFICALLY CATEGORIZED AND THUS WOULD BE THE ONLY STATE WHICH COULD BE ADDED TO ONE OR THE OTHER CATEGORIES. ALSO, HE SAID THAT THE WESTERN REPS MIGHT ASK EASTERN REPS FOR THEIR OWN IDEAS ON HOW THE STATUS OF HUNGARY COULD BE KEPT IN ABEYANCE. WITH REGARD TO THE STATUS OF ITALY, HE BELIEVED THE ALLIED REPS SHOULD REFER TO THE EXCHANGE OF NOTES WHICH PRECEDED THE FIRST PLENARY MEETING. AT THAT EXCHANGE, THE EAST ACCEPTED THE IDEA THAT ITALY BE PLACED IN THE STATUS OF A CONSULTATIVE PARTICIPANT.

19. THE GREEK REP ASKED IF THE ALLIED REPS SHOULD SHOW IMPATIENCE AT THE EASTERN DELAY. THE US REP SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THEY MIGHT DO SO BUT ONLY IN A MILD WAY. IN POINT OF FACT, THE ISSUE REMAINED OPEN AND THE EASTERN REPS APPEARED TO BE COOPERATIVE. IF WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW AT THIS POINT IF THE EASTERN SIDE ACTUALLY WAS STALLING INTENTIONALLY. THE NORWEGIAN REP ADDED THAT THE ALLIED REPS SHOULD NOT DELVE INTO DETAILS DURING DISCUSSIONS OF THE PARTICIPATION ISSUE. RATHER THEY SHOULD INDICATE THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO HEAR EASTERN SUGGESTIONS AS TO AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE.

20. THE DANISH REP THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE ALLIED SPOKESMEN SHOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE 30 MARCH QUADRILATERAL TO DISCUSS AGENDA ITEMS WITH THE EAST. THE US REP ANSWERED THAT HE PREFERRED TO WAIT

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